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REPORTS

FROM

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT PEKING

RESPECTING THE

OPIUM QUESTION IN CHINA.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
July 1913.*

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REPORTS

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OPIMUM QUESTION IN CHINA

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June 1913



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Reports from His Majesty's Minister at Peking respecting the Opium Question in China.

No. 1.

Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey.—(Received June 9.)

Sir,

Peking, May 26, 1913.

SINCE the opening of the present year I have had the honour to address to you a series of despatches in which an effort has been made to trace the results in certain provinces of China of the opium suppression policy, which is now being pursued by the Government of the Republic.

In the following pages I have attempted to summarise the contents of the above-mentioned despatches, and to add thereto such information as I have lately received regarding the suppression in those provinces both of opium smoking and of poppy cultivation. The reports on these subjects, which have been furnished to His Majesty's Legation, are based in a few cases on the personal observations of consular officers, more frequently on information derived from missionaries and other travellers, and occasionally on statements made by the heads of opium suppression bureaux or by other Chinese officials. While the extreme diversity of the information received from the various provinces and the wide divergence of views which, in some cases, exists between different authors of information in the same province render it impossible to guarantee the exactitude of each individual report, I venture to think that the following summary will give a not inaccurate idea of the general position in regard to the question at issue of those portions of the Republic to which it refers.

Fukien.

Reports received at the beginning of the year pointed to the existence in this province of poppy cultivation on a considerable scale. Such cultivation appeared, however, to be confined to two principal districts.

Of these Hsinghua, situated between Amoy and Foochow was the more important. Here the area under poppy was said to amount to some 32,000 acres, and travellers reported that so extensive a crop was without precedent. It had even been planted along the main roads without any attempt at concealment.

Towards the end of January the authorities entered upon a vigorous campaign to deal with the situation. His Majesty's consul at Foochow was informed by the Civil Commissioner that 1,000 soldiers had been despatched to the district in question, and were already engaged in uprooting the poppy. The situation at Hsinghua was, however, complicated by the presence of a rebel chief, styling himself the Ming Pretender, and commanding a force of brigands and smugglers, which probably amounted to some 2,000 men. While His Majesty's consul was informed officially that this band of outlaws would not be allowed to interfere with the work of complete destruction, the next news received at Peking was to the effect that the Ming Pretender had undertaken the protection of the Hsinghua poppy fields, and that he was being paid by the farmers at the rate of 6 dollars an acre for such protection.

Although no reliable account is available of the fighting which ensued between troops and rebels, it is clear that the situation rapidly developed into a somewhat determined rebellion. Against this rising steady progress must, however, have been made by the military forces employed by the local authorities. Reports received at the end of March, and emanating from missionaries residing in the Hsinghua district, state that 90 per cent. of the local crop had been uprooted, and that the remaining 10 per cent. was being cultivated in remote villages among the hills. It was added that a small proportion of the crop had been harvested, but that some of this had been subsequently destroyed. A newspaper report of approximately the same date, although less optimistic, and maintaining that a considerable amount of poppy remained standing, bore witness to the progress which had been made against the rebellion of opium

farmers. The latest information regarding the district of Hsinghua received by His Majesty's Legation refers to the situation at the end of April. In one portion of the district the work of uprooting the poppy is stated to be complete. In another, however, a missionary reports that he saw a considerable number of fields which were being harvested. The people on the spot told him, he adds, that in return for payment the authorities were ready to leave the crops untouched.

With regard to the opium-growing district in the neighbourhood of Amoy, here also the farmers appear to have sown extensive areas with poppy. The representative of a Hong Kong opium firm, touring the southern corner of the province at the end of 1912, valued the crops at no less than 20,000,000 dollars.

The work of suppression was, as in the more northerly district, commenced during the month of January, when the authorities received instructions to destroy all growing poppy crops. The order was, however, qualified by the condition that no disturbance was to be caused. In order to carry out such qualified instructions, the officials at first considered that the military forces at their disposal would be inadequate. They were of opinion that it would not be possible to interfere with the gathering of this year's harvest. Reports received during March showed that the official view was in part correct, since one-third of the crop had been already gathered. They showed, however, at the same time that vigorous measures had been undertaken by the authorities to destroy the poppy which remained standing. That these measures were successful is proved by the personal observations of His Majesty's consul at Amoy, who has lately reported signs of extensive destruction of the poppy and the complete absence of standing crops. A recent missionary report stated that the poppy fields in the north-east of the province were being rooted up by the officials.

While the military have, by forcible methods, been achieving much towards the suppression of cultivation in the province, the Fukien Opium Suppression Bureau has been actively supporting the campaign by the issue of proclamations. Of these one is specially noteworthy as including among punishable offences not only the cultivation, smoking, and selling of opium, but the fact of being found on premises where opium is being smoked, even should the individual so found be a non-smoker.

Yünnan.

His Majesty's consul-general, reporting at the beginning of January, gave a general opinion that there was a distinct decrease in the area under cultivation this winter as compared with last year. He ascribed this result as in great measure due to the steps taken by the Provincial Government to prevent sowing. A missionary travelling in the north of the province during the last three months of 1912 had seen no trace of poppy along the main roads. On his return journey southwards, however, he skirted the Yünnan-Szechuan border, and found, in the regions inhabited by non-Chinese tribes, evidence of cultivation on a considerable scale. Repressive measures were, he stated, being attempted by the Chinese authorities.

With regard to other portions of the province, some cultivation had been seen in the east, and poppy had been sown during the winter all along the Yünnan-Tonkin frontier. From the Burma frontier it was reported that farmers had engaged in extensive cultivation during the previous year, but that the military authorities were already engaged in a determined and effective campaign of suppression. In one border district it was stated that severe punishments were being inflicted on cultivators, while smokers were being severely penalised.

Reports received at the end of January were slightly less favourable than those of a month earlier. The fact may doubtless be explained by the appearance of poppy plants which were not yet above the ground when the previous reports were written. From the poppy-growing prefectures of the north and east, for instance, cultivation was now stated as being extensive, and, in some cases, on a larger scale than in the previous year. In one such prefecture a considerable area of poppy had been seen along the main road, and there was reason to believe that it had been planted in even greater abundance in the remoter and more hilly districts. Cultivation was reported from five districts in the west and from three in the south of the province.

From native sources His Majesty's consul-general derived the impression that the Governor was doing his best in the cause of suppression. In the neighbourhood of large towns the local officials, aided by the military, were in most cases able to prevent the planting of the crop. In the more remote districts, however, and especially in those inhabited by tribes, they were completely helpless. Several were reported to have offered their resignation rather than attempt the task of suppression. Threats to

emigrate, in the event of their being prevented from growing poppy, were said to have been received from the tribesmen on the Tonkin and Burma frontiers.

While the latest reports which have been received by His Majesty's Legation from the province of Yunnan point to the continuance of official efforts towards suppression, it is not clear in how far such efforts have been successful. On the 17th March the general commanding the 1st division of the Yunnan army stated that strong detachments of troops had been sent to the chief opium-growing districts, and that within a month not 2 per cent. of this year's crop would be left standing. Information from other sources tends to show that the general's view was somewhat optimistic, since, in reports received from five different districts, occur such phrases as "poppy growing in almost every valley," "poppy growing openly along the roadside and on the river banks," "poppy planted everywhere." Near Mengtsz soldiers were seen bargaining with the owners of poppy fields, and receiving sums varying from 50 to 200 dollars in return for sparing their crops, "in the case of those who paid, the soldiers marched through the fields brandishing bamboos, but doing little or no damage to the plants; the fields of those who could not, or would not, pay were trampled down and destroyed." From a further district it is reported that troops sent to destroy the poppy had to be withdrawn in face of the hostile attitude assumed by cultivators. The district of Tali-fu, in the north-west, is, on the other hand, now said to be entirely clear of poppy.

My information regarding smoking is confined to the above-mentioned district of Tali-fu and to the neighbourhood of the provincial capital. With regard to the former, efforts to suppress the use of the drug itself would appear to have been less determined than those directed towards the destruction of the poppy. A missionary correspondent writes as follows in this connection :—

"In this city the police occasionally arrest a smoker, but, apart from the public inns, there is really no restriction on smoking if it is practised behind closed doors. I should say that the number of smokers has been slightly reduced. Many swallow the drug who formerly smoked it. Hardly anyone now admits that they use opium, but very few are giving up the habit—even officers from the camps smoke when visiting in the city."

Reports from the capital of the province state that police surveillance has been much relaxed, that opium is smoked almost openly in shops and tea houses, and that it is to be smelt in half the private houses in the city.

Kueichow.

Reports regarding this province refer chiefly to its central and south-western portions. They indicate very extensive cultivation, the crops in one district being described as larger than in any of the last six seasons, while in another it is stated that poppy was sown in greater quantities than before the revolution. Information received during the month of April and having reference to the same two prefectures was even more categorical, being to the effect that poppy had been seen "growing everywhere" except in one district where energetic measures on the part of the officials had led farmers to plough up their poppy crops and replace them with beans.

The reports received include special reference to four particular districts. In one the prefect is said to go out on periodical tours of inspection, in the course of which he destroys a few fields in the neighbourhood of his headquarters, but away from the main roads and in the mountains the poppy remains untouched. In another the prefect has openly stated that, since he has no troops and since the planters are mostly village headmen over whom he has no control, the suppression of cultivation is impossible. A missionary correspondent at Tsungyifu writes as follows :—

"All over this prefecture there is a great deal of poppy growing, and it seems to me that there is very little diminution in smoking, although the price of opium is now above 1 tael an ounce. There are proclamations out against poppy growing, and the destruction of crops is threatened, but I fancy that the authorities regard the process of uprooting as too risky. It would certainly lead to trouble."

In the fourth district from which reports have lately been received it is said that the authorities appear to "mean business," and a local paper is quoted as stating that, among other severe measures about to be taken, is included the summary execution of smokers under the age of 40.

The latest information bears witness to earnest efforts made to uproot the poppy in districts around the provincial capital. A missionary eye-witness writes of one of these districts: "... the large plain was a sight not easy to forget. Wherever one looked the plant, much of it already in bloom, was cut down. It took 600 men ten days to do this, and the estimated value (at present rates) of the crop on the plain, had it been allowed to ripen and be gathered, is something between 100,000 taels and 300,000 taels of silver" (from 15,000*l.* to 45,000*l.*). Of another he says: "... in one or two places opium was in bloom, and that notwithstanding three visits (one from the magistrate and two from those under him). This was away from the main road." In a more northerly district the efforts to uproot the poppy do not appear to have been thorough. The plant was reported growing everywhere; not a half had been uprooted, and the crop was nearly ready. Reports from a southern district announced the gathering of the opium harvest. In places where uprooting had taken place a little was left over, and the missionary was always given the same reply that this was done to leave some seed for next season.

The same missionary, writing to the legation at a later date, stated that the poppy had been widely cultivated "in the districts around the provincial capital this season, but, on the whole, not so extensively as in former years (that is, before any efforts were made to suppress; this year's is probably more than, say, two years ago)." It had also been cultivated very generally throughout the province. The districts were too numerous to mention. On and near the main roads little or none was growing, but a very great deal on smaller roads. Almost throughout the province the authorities were taking vigorous steps to uproot the poppy, soldiers being employed to enforce orders. It was not unlikely, however, that a considerable proportion of the opium would be gathered, as official action had come so late, but there was no doubt, he thought, that a big step towards suppression had been taken.

Kiangsu.

The recrudescence of cultivation on a very considerable scale is indicated by nearly all the reports received from this province. His Majesty's consul at Chinkiang, writing in the beginning of January, stated that the poppy fields in the northern districts were more extensive than ever. A proclamation prohibiting cultivation had been issued, but had remained a dead letter, and even the gentry were engaged in growing poppy. The news was confirmed by press correspondents who visited the province during the same month. In one district, which was referred to as having been among the largest opium producers in China ten years ago, not a single acre is said to have been under cultivation in 1909, while in the present year at least half the original area is reported as being given up to the poppy. A correspondent who had spent more than a month in another northern district stated that the poppy was being planted in larger quantities than had been the case for many years.

With the advance of the growing season, reports received from Kiangsu, while mentioning official efforts at suppression in certain districts, still tended to confirm the existence of considerable areas of poppy. Information regarding measures of repression was received from Chinkiang and Nanking. In both of these districts many fields had been uprooted; the poppy was no longer to be seen growing along the main roads or in the neighbourhood of large towns, and cultivation on a considerable scale had been confined to the outlying districts of the prefectures.

A report compiled by the representatives of a Shanghai opium firm, who spent three weeks in Northern Kiangsu, leads to the conclusion that a very large quantity of opium has been produced in such outlying districts during the present season. Within a radius of 60 miles from Shanghai, two districts were found to be full of poppy. In one of these the villagers stated that the senior of their local headmen was himself a grower, but had on two occasions uprooted a few plants in order to show his zeal in the anti-opium cause. In the unfrequented districts round Nanking many miles of poppy fields were to be seen, and in one prefecture the area under cultivation was estimated at 30 square miles. Along the Kiangsu-Honan and Kiangsu-Shantung borders poppy was seen growing in a large number of villages, while in the north-eastern corner of the province the fields were said to extend for a distance of 50 miles without any attempt being made by the local officials to restrict cultivation.

Kansu.

During the present season three reports have been received from this remote province. The statements contained in the one dealing with the south of the province

are of so categorical a nature that I am not prepared to doubt their substantial accuracy. The report is in the form of a letter from a missionary who writes from Tsinchow as follows:—

“Kansu is covered with poppy from end to end. I was at Fukiang the other day, and there the very brick pits are planted, and graves are being reduced to the minimum size, in order that more seed may be sown. Here even the vegetable gardens are being sown. Officials are now out to see how much is being grown, in order to collect the tax on the land under poppy. The longer the delay the harder it will be for the people; if action is taken at once the autumn crops could be sown in place of opium. I expect that the crop has been already gathered at Husihsien and Chenghsien, as it is very early there, and a military official has guaranteed the harvest to the people, so rumour reports.”

The two other reports deal with the western and central parts of the province and the information contained therein has been furnished by British missionaries. Writing from Sining, the former reported extensive cultivation in Nienpai where but little poppy had been sown before the revolution. In the country round Sining itself there was some but not a great deal of the cultivation. It was explained that Kansu is a poor province with a large military force to support and dependent on Government subsidies which have not been forthcoming since the revolution. The officials, therefore, regarded opium as a necessary source of revenue. Writing from Lanchow in central Kansu, another missionary estimated that 70 per cent. of the prefecture was under poppy and that the cultivation was extensive throughout the whole province. Official taxes were being levied on poppy fields, which were classed in three grades, at the rates of 25 dollars, 14 dollars, and 8 dollars per acre. He added that telegrams were being constantly received from Peking ordering the immediate destruction of the poppy. But the provincial treasurer was very badly in need of revenue and was contriving to postpone action until the opium should have been gathered in August. The tutu was on the point of departure and had done nothing.

Kuangtung.

Poppy growing in this province is confined to the eastern and north-eastern corners, three districts of which were reported during March to be the scenes of extensive cultivation. Later information shows, however, that effective measures of suppression were taken by the authorities, resulting in at least one case in the complete destruction of the poppy crop and in the arrest of the farmers by whom it was being cultivated.

With regard to consumption of the drug, smoking without any attempt at concealment is reported from one district, while in another a number of shops are said to have been reopened and a slight recrudescence of smoking to be apparent. There is, nevertheless, reason to believe that the authorities continue in most cases vigorously to enforce the suppression laws, and it is significant in this connection that the fines for opium offences collected by the Swatow police during the March quarter amounted to the sum of 13,000 dollars.

Szechuan.

It will be remembered that this province was declared free of poppy and the importation of Indian opium was prohibited in August 1911.

Reports received from Szechuan during the present season are conflicting but tend to show that a distinct recrudescence of poppy cultivation has taken place.

The earliest information regarding the province emanated from Reuter's agent who telegraphed in January the news that in one district thousands of acres were under cultivation but that orders had been issued for its destruction. He at the same time reported serious fighting between farmers and troops who had been detailed for suppression duty.

Reports received during February referred only to the eastern districts of the province. In these conscientious and determined efforts at suppression were being made by the officials. The measures adopted appeared to have been in most cases successful, in the face of serious difficulties occasioned by distance and popular opposition, and cultivation to have been confined to the mountainous districts of the border. Later information regarding Eastern Szechuan confirms the above view and leads to the conclusion that, with the exception of one district, poppy cultivation has been completely suppressed in this portion of the province.

In the south, on the other hand, missionary correspondents, reported in March that cultivation was on a greatly increased scale—such being especially the case in the tribal territories which are beyond Chinese control. Official efforts at destruction had been feeble and ill-directed with the result that three good crops had been harvested in quick rotation. I have received further reports regarding Southern Szechuan as lately as the beginning of the present month and they continue to speak of the very serious proportions which cultivation has assumed. One letter on the subject contains the following passages:—

“The area under cultivation is increased three hundred fold over that grown under the Manchus. Farmers are now sowing or rather have sown three or four measures of seed this season whereas, usually, only one measure was sown. . . . The present value of an ounce of new opium is 2 tael cents, cheaper than it was this time last year. The price is low because of the large quantity expected. . . . There is no district without its opium this year. . . . The officials seem to have given up their suppression methods and the official feeling is one of helplessness. No edicts or proclamations have been issued for months and the people naturally conclude that they are free to grow as much opium as they wish.”

With regard to Western Szechuan a general recrudescence is reported from the prefecture of Yachow but the area under cultivation is said to be less than in former years and the more extensive poppy fields to be situated in the remoter districts and tribal territories. His Majesty's consul-general at Chengtu, in reporting on this prefecture mentions that mutinous soldiery after looting a local town were seen to have their clothing “literally bulging with opium” in which they had apparently invested the proceeds of their foray. In view of the mountainous nature of the country, it was thought that instructions issued for the renewal of repressive measures were unlikely to lead to any marked result.

Reports received from the north of the province state that in two districts large areas of poppy were being grown. Cultivation was carried on without concealment, and flourishing crops were seen in close proximity to the high roads. In one prefecture attempts to destroy the more extensive fields had given rise to disturbances.

In conclusion it may be added that His Majesty's consul-general was, towards the end of April, informed by the Szechuan Department of the Interior that total suppression had been carried out over two-thirds of the province, and that surreptitious cultivation was confined to inaccessible and mountainous spots where it was of insignificant extent. He is not altogether prepared to endorse this statement, and concludes that poppy continues to be grown to a greater extent than is admitted by the officials, and that cultivation is by no means confined to the more isolated districts.

Shensi.

At the end of last year considerable cultivation was reported. No recent information has been forthcoming.

Shansi.

The province was declared free of cultivation in August 1911, and placed on the list of provinces into which Indian opium should not be conveyed. A relapse took place last year, and the poppy was cultivated in the south and centre. The area sown appears to have been appreciable, and was reported to be one-twentieth of that in earlier years, when the annual production was about 20,000 chests.

Hupek.

Cultivation was reported in the south-west.

Kiangsi.

At the end of last year cultivation was reported in remote localities; but the amount does not appear to have been of any extent, nor is there information of further cultivation.

Chekiang.

A statement furnished by one of the foreign opium importers at Shanghai as to the conditions in February last reported a moderate amount of cultivation in the north-east

and south-east, and very heavy cultivation in the east, not far from the coast ; a fair quantity has also been observed in the central districts of the province. A missionary wrote last month that he had seen thousands of mow (1 acre equals 6 mow) planted with poppy in the south-east not far from Wenchow earlier in the season. In March last he made a tour through this district, and now testifies to the total destruction of the crop.

The three Manchurian provinces were placed on the prohibition list in August 1911, and Chihli and Kuangsi were added in February of this year. Shantung, Anhui, and Hunan have recently been examined by consular officers under article 4 of the Opium Agreement of May 1911, and I will deal with them in a separate despatch.

On the whole, it may fairly be said that the Chinese Government have shown signs of earnestness in the suppression of opium cultivation in the provinces this year, and an advance in this direction has been made within the last three months. While making full allowance for their difficulties, I cannot but point out that a great deal remains to be done before the work of suppression can be considered as complete—notably in the provinces of Yünnan, Kueichow, Kiangsu, Kansu, and Szechuan.

I have, &c.

J. N. JORDAN.

No. 2.

Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey.—(Received June 16.)

Sir,

Peking, June 2, 1913.

I HAVE the honour to enclose copies of reports on journeys recently completed in Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung, with a view to ascertaining the extent of poppy cultivation still existing in those provinces.

Five consular officers were detached for the work, and, accompanied by Chinese delegates of the metropolitan and provincial governments, they have conducted a searching enquiry into the conditions of cultivation, consumption, and traffic in native opium. Their investigations have failed to reveal any poppy crops within the areas under inspection, and I have informed the Chinese Government that, in view of the effective suppression of the cultivation and import of the native drug, the conveyance of Indian opium into the provinces of Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung will now cease, in accordance with the terms of article 3 of the Agreement of 1911. Copies of the correspondence with the Wai-chiao Pu on this subject are enclosed herewith.

In a note of the 19th December last, the Wai-chiao Pu quoted reports from the respective Governors to the effect that these three provinces were entirely free of opium cultivation. The information reaching me from His Majesty's consuls, from the native and foreign press, and from missionaries and others—substance of which I communicated to the Wai-chiao Pu on the 1st February—all tended to throw doubt upon these claims. The results of the examination would appear to leave no room for question that poppy was being grown this season in each of the provinces under consideration. Suppressive campaigns, however, of great vigour and severity were inaugurated in February and March, when the poppy plants were showing well above ground, and at a time when it had become known that the three provinces would be subjected to investigation. The appointment of British consular officers to undertake tours of examination undoubtedly stimulated the zeal of the provincial authorities, and, assisted by military officers and large numbers of soldiers, the magistrates and opium inspectors redoubled their previous exertions.

It is satisfactory to learn that these exertions have been rewarded with complete success, and it is to be hoped that, having secured immunity from the import of Indian opium, these three provinces will see to it that there is no recrudescence of cultivation such as was recorded in the cases of Shansi and Szechuan.

These are the first tours of the kind which have been carried out by British and Chinese officers working together, and the good spirit and fellowship with which they have been conducted under arduous and trying circumstances reflects much credit on all concerned.

I have, &c.

J. N. JORDAN.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

Report on Journey in Anhui.

IN accordance with instructions received from His Majesty's Minister, I left Peking on the 20th April for the investigation of the cultivation and importation of native opium in the province of Anhui under the terms of article 4 of the May Agreement 1911.

I remained one day at Tsinan in order to discuss details of a similar investigation in Shantung with Mr. Smith and Mr. Fitzmaurice. I arrived at Pengpu on the Tien-tsin-Pukou Railway on the 24th April, and the investigation in Anhui commenced from this date. I returned to Peking from Pengpu on the 18th May.

I had originally planned to proceed westward from Pengpu, and to visit the districts of Huai-yuan, Po-chou, Ying-chou, and Shou-chou, and to make for Wuhu viâ Wu-wei. These districts, according to information supplied by His Majesty's consul at Wuhu, missionaries and others, were indicated as being under opium cultivation this year. A visit to Huai-yuan, however, convinced me that the crops in the north were backward for the time of the year. I decided to proceed by rail and steamer to Wuhu, where I arrived on the 27th April, and work northwards from that place.

The province of Anhui is divisible into three distinct regions :—

1. The country south of the River Yang-tsze ;
2. The area between the Yang-tsze and the Huai Rivers ;
3. The part north of the Huai River.

1. As regards the first of these three divisions, the information received from His Majesty's consul and missionaries appeared to place beyond question the fact that opium cultivation had practically ceased. My own enquiries at Wuhu confirmed this information.

2. In the second division, cultivation had been reported in the Wu-wei district, along the northern shores of Lake Chao, in the Liu-an and Shou-chou districts, and along the southern banks of the Huai River.

3. In the region north of the Huai River poppy had been indicated as having been planted in the districts of Po-chou and Ying-chou.

I left Wuhu on the 1st May for the district city of Ch'ao-hsien, 42 miles distant, in a motor launch kindly placed at my disposal by the Asiatic Petroleum Company. From trustworthy information it appeared that there were no signs of poppy in the district of Wu-wei. The magistrates of the Wu-wei and Ch'ao-hsien had made a joint tour of investigation accompanied by a large force of soldiers early in April, and again three days before my arrival. Some poppy fields belonging to a military official at the provincial capital were included among those ploughed up. The town of Ch'ao-hsien lies at the entrance of the large lake, 125 miles in circumference, known as Chao-hu. From information supplied to the legation by His Majesty's consul at Wuhu, it appeared that the northern shores of this lake had been planted with poppy. The difficulty of approach to the northern bank owing to shallow water and the impossibility of observing the cultivation on land through screens of high reeds made the further journey by boat impracticable. I set out from Ch'ao-hsien, therefore, along a small road running for the first 20 miles in close proximity to the north of the lake. In this direction the lake is bordered by high hills from which a comprehensive view of the lake and shores could be obtained. I examined the countryside constantly and carefully with powerful field-glasses but could detect no signs of growing poppy. I spent the first night at the house of a Chinese merchant to whom I had received a letter of introduction. He is a native of the province and a shrewd business man well acquainted with local affairs. He told me that some but not much poppy had been growing in Wu-wei and Ch'ao-hsien, which had been cleared in the recent itineraries made by the magistrates. The unpaved road, still saturated and cut up by the rains of the preceding week, ran between low hills to Lüchow. This town is one of considerable importance in this region, being in direct water communication with the Yang-tsze, and a distributing centre for a very large part of the area between the Yang-tsze and Huai Rivers. There is a good deal of secret opium smoking still going on in the town in spite of an energetic crusade by the magistrate. Still, the smoking has sensibly diminished, and the foreign missionary doctor estimated that it had decreased by one-half. The cases of attempted suicide by opium brought to the hospital average forty annually as against

one hundred previously. This he accounted for partly by the actual decrease in the consumption, and partly by the greatly-enhanced price of the drug. Another missionary independently confirmed the doctor's estimate of opium smoking, and added that it was still the practice for many of the gentry to smoke opium at dinners with intimate friends. Opium is smuggled into Lü-chow from the Yang-tsze, and three shops were pointed out to me where purchases could be made by regular customers.

Between Lü-chow and Liu-an I came across traces of a few poppy fields ploughed up within the preceding two or three days. At the latter place I received very definite information from two missionaries stationed at Yingchow-fu, writing independently of one another, which satisfied me that the poppy in that district and the surrounding districts had been uprooted. The work of eradication appears to have commenced at the end of February, and to have been continued with great energy and success during April by the magistrates and deputies in person. One of my informants had reported earlier "a tremendous sowing" at the beginning of the season. In the district of Yingshan an armed conflict appears to have taken place between the growers and the soldiers; seventy of the former were reported to have been killed.

A missionary, writing from Pó-chou, stated that most searching efforts had been made by the officials to find and destroy all the poppy planted in the district. He himself had been out in the countryside a good deal, and had not seen a single plant.

As the time at my disposal was limited this information decided me not to visit Yingchow and Po-chou, but to proceed at once into the districts of Shou-chou, Huai-yuan, and Ting-yuan, examining *en route* the country between Liu-an and Ho-ch'iu.

This sparsely populated region is extraordinarily scarce in villages and hamlets, and the homesteads are widely scattered among the fir coppices on the hills, the wheat-fields of the plains, and the belts of tall reeds extending along the shores of the lakes. Poppy was grown to some extent last season, but I doubt if any was even sown this season.

At Ho-ch'iu a missionary who had been resident there for twenty-four years told me that the magistrate had been out quite recently on a tour of rigorous inspection, and had uprooted the poppy growing along the banks of the Huai River in his district. He was of opinion that the countryside was clear of poppy.

I travelled on foot for some miles along the shores of the east lake, between Ho-ch'iu and Cheng-yang-kuan, where poppy was reported to be growing. There were no standing plants, although many fields bore the appearance of having been lately ploughed up in the midst of flourishing crops of wheat, rye, and barley. From Cheng-yang-kuan, the most important town in Northern Anhui, I proceeded by boat to Shou-chou. There were no signs of poppy fields along the river banks, although a month before the report of their existence was widely current. The Huai River is infested with pirates in many parts, and my boat was followed during the night by a junk containing seven of these undesirables. They were attacked the next morning, in broad daylight, by a small wooden gunboat, with a crew of at least double that number. The pirates bolted across country unharmed, although it would have been an easy matter to have shot them down. The low hills and swamps on the south bank are notorious as robber haunts. The most widely known is the large village of Pai-lu-ch'iao, or White Deer Bridge, at the junction of the three districts of Huai-yuan, Shou-chou, and Ting-yuan. The population is about 5,000, and the villagers as villainous a gang of cut-throats as it had been my lot to see in Anhui. The countryside is full of disbanded soldiers, and opium inspection had hitherto been shunned in these parts. Had it not been for the imperative commands of the tutu, consequent on my visit to Anhui, the magistrates would have left this Alsatia alone; but the three magistrates traversed the entire area with several hundred soldiers, and destroyed all vestiges of poppy. A week before my arrival there one of the guards of an opium inspector had been seriously wounded at a small village between Pai-lu-ch'iao and the river. The tutu ordered troops to destroy the village. Three hundred men, with two mountain guns and two Maxims, reached Le-ho, on the south bank, and prepared to attack at daybreak. In the meantime, the magistrates of Shou-chou and Ting-yuan were occupying Pai-lu-ch'iao with about 300 men. Owing to the mediation of the magistrate of Huai-yuan and the local gentry the village was spared. The male adults of this region possess arms in some form or other—either knives, matchlocks, automatic pistols, or breech-loaders.

From Pai-lu-ch'iao I had intended to visit Ping-ho-shan, on the north bank, at the junction of the three districts of Huai-yuan, Meng-chen, and Feng-tai. Poppy fields had been seen there by a missionary two months before, but a visit the previous week

showed that they had been destroyed. I did not, therefore, visit Ping-ho-shan, but returned from Huai-yuan to Pengpu, on the Tien-tsin-Pukou Railway.

During my stay of twenty-three days in the province, rain fell on eleven days and on eight of these heavily. The overland journey was at times trying on account of the moist heat, the bad roads, execrable inn accommodation and the impossibility of obtaining any supplies except rice and flour. The discomforts, however, would have been considerably greater had it not been for the efforts of the local officials and frequently the local gentry also. In spite of the unpopularity of my mission, which had been widely published, I found the people of this province, reputed to be so anti-foreign, uniformly respectful and even friendly. Attended by a single coolie, I often separated myself from the rest of the party. I cannot recollect a single unpleasant incident, although I can recall many unexpected little attentions from the country people. At White Deer Bridge it is true that, returning with an escort of a dozen men, two shots were fired at us when barely half a mile from the village occupied at that moment by two magistrates and 300 soldiers. But this attention was rather an expression of lawless defiance than a feeling of personal animosity.

I travelled accompanied by four Chinese delegates—one from the Wai-chiao Pu, one from the Ministry of the Interior, and two deputed by the tutu. Except for a difference of opinion as to the advisability of the visit to the Pai-lu-ch'iao region our relations were friendly and in full accord. The magistrates and local officials were always ready to afford assistance and my relations with them were excellent, in spite of the unpleasant nature of my task. I was informed, on good authority, and I can readily believe that the tutu had issued most peremptory circular orders immediately before my arrival that, if poppy were found in any district, not only would the magistrate be summarily dismissed but a punishment of fifteen years' imprisonment would be added.

The two principal objects of my tour were to observe, firstly, whether the poppy was being cultivated, and, secondly, to ascertain whether native opium was being imported into the province. The results of personal observation and enquiries show that a very appreciable quantity was sown at the end of last year, almost entirely north of the Yang-tsze. The greater part of this appears to have been destroyed about March last, and the province practically cleared of poppy in April and May. I have heard that a small amount may have been harvested in remote corners but there is no evidence on this point.

In regard to the second point, the import of native opium is forbidden and the prohibition is strictly enforced. A fair amount, exactly how much cannot be stated, is being smuggled in by steamer from the lower Yang-tsze and overland across the Honan frontier. Three or four seizures are daily made at Wuhu of packages of from 5 to 10 lbs. each secreted in the luggage or the person of native passengers; female smugglers are largely utilised. I have no reason to think that the responsible provincial officials are conniving at the illicit sale or import of native opium.

The production of Anhui opium was estimated in 1909 at 3,000 piculs representing an area under cultivation of 27,000 acres. In the districts through which I passed wheat, rye, barley, and rape have replaced the poppy. I was informed on the authority of a magistrate that alcohol is now being consumed instead of opium in the Huai River districts.

E. C. WILTON.

Peking, May 26, 1913.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2.

Report on Journey in Hunan.

UNDER instructions from His Majesty's Minister I have travelled for forty days in Hunan with a view to obtaining evidence of the diminution of poppy cultivation in the province under the terms of article 4 of the Opium Agreement of 1911. The period during which the poppy plant is recognisable is of such short duration that one officer could not have covered the area under examination within the time, and Mr. Louis King, with two Chinese representatives, undertook the examination of the eastern belt of the province between the Hsiang River and the Kiangsi border. My own route followed the southern and western frontiers, and, although it was impossible to visit every producing centre of a province equal in extent to England and Wales in one season, the two parties covered an extensive and

representative area. Sir Somerville Head, 3rd Secretary to His Majesty's Legation at Peking, accompanied me as far as Paoching, whence he returned to Changsha by the Tze River route, and Mr. C. M. Tippetts, of the 24th Regiment, was with me throughout the journey, as were also the two Chinese delegates appointed by the Wai-chiao Pu in Peking and by the Governor of Hunan.

The general direction of the routes was outlined by Mr. Wilton from information received from His Majesty's consul at Changsha as to the poppy-planting which had taken place during the present season. Slight deviations were suggested by the local news which reached us during the journey, but the routes indicated for us undoubtedly included every centre of importance. I had hoped to include Yung-shun-fu and Sang-chih (in the north-west corner of the province) in my itinerary. On my arrival at Shen-chou-fu, however, I ascertained that the campaign of destruction had been carried on in those districts with a determination and success no less marked than was the case in the western districts. I therefore decided that the further extension of the tour would not justify the additional expense, especially considering that it would be impossible to complete it before the poppy harvest was over.

The main roads in Hunan are known to have been freed from poppy cultivation during the past few years, and I took the precaution therefore of travelling by small roads and hill tracks to which suspicion still attached. During the early days of the journey the officials attempted, on one pretext or another, to prevent our passage into the wilder regions, many of which had not been previously visited by foreigners. I insisted on the necessity for entire freedom of movement, and throughout the tour the route was only communicated to the Chinese from day to day, whilst frequent visits to the surrounding hill-tops enabled us to watch conditions over a wide area, and precluded the possibility of a poppy-free track being prepared in advance for our inspection.

The party cannot claim to have made an exhaustive investigation of every district, but I think it may fairly be claimed that the examination has been as inclusive as was possible during the maturity of the crops, and that reliable information has been obtained as to the present cultivation and trade in opium throughout the entire province.

The rich agricultural districts in the centre of the province have been free of opium for several years, and there is nothing of importance to report as to conditions between Changsha and Paoching. Mr. King's route lay through a populous, regularly-administered area, in which precise information was obtainable, and he is able to report the eastern district entirely free of poppy cultivation. Sir Somerville Head also states that no poppy was growing along the valley of the Tze River between Paoching and Changsha.

The route which I followed passed through the country known as the Caves of the Yaos and the Confines of the Miaos, where there are no large towns, and where the country is thinly populated and loosely administered by the Chinese. It is only possible, therefore, to outline the impression conveyed to my mind by personal observations of the conditions. I saw no poppy, and I believe that the crops have now been entirely destroyed in the area through which I passed.

During the spring of the present year it was claimed by the provincial authorities of Hunan that the cultivation and import of native opium had been effectively suppressed, and that the province was therefore entitled to be placed on the Prohibition List for Indian Opium, under the terms of article 3 of the Agreement of 1911. The Central Government evidently attached the greatest importance to the production of the necessary evidence in support of their claim, and, on the departure of the party of investigation from Peking, the Governor was directed to have every plant destroyed before there was any possibility of its discovery. The Changsha papers ingenuously noted his Excellency's reply that, on the one hand, all poppy had been already completely eradicated, whilst, on the other hand, he was issuing the most urgent instructions for the destruction of the remaining crops. I learnt that messages from the Governor had been received by every official through whose district we passed, reminding them that their own careers would depend on the result of the investigation, and urging them to slay all who offered resistance. We had sufficient evidence that these instructions had been literally obeyed.

The number of executions in the eastern area appears to have been insignificant. The campaign in the south-west also was carried out without loss of life, partly owing to the fact that it was entrusted to an opium delegate of unusual capability and tact, and partly to the fact that the people, and especially the Yao tribesmen, are spiritless and poor.

Along the western border, however, conditions were very different. The Miaos

and the half-breed Chinese are a fine race, full of character and independence, and strong and prosperous in spite of the fact that their homes are confined to the mountain country. They have grown opium for many years, and found it a most valuable asset. Nothing but actual force could possibly have cleared their districts.

The authorities themselves claimed that 200 farmers had lost their lives in the Chien-chou prefecture alone in the attempt to defend their crops from destruction, and we had independent news of skirmishes and loss of life in almost every district along the Kueichow border.

Whilst the severity of the treatment meted out to offenders is regrettable, there seems little doubt that milder measures would have failed to accomplish the desired end. The sudden and sweeping character of the repressive campaign must be accepted as proof of the determination of the Hunan authorities to justify their claim to a place on the free list.

From Changsha to Paoching, which is roughly in the centre of the province, the whole party travelled together. With the permanent escort provided by the Provincial Government, the local escorts from the various prefectures, and the porters necessary for so large a party, we often numbered as many as 200 men. It was evident that it would be impossible to accommodate and feed so large a party on the small roads, and, when we separated at Paoching, I felt bound to insist on a substantial reduction in the retinue. The murder of two opium deputies at Hsu-pu last year, and the constant skirmishes between the soldiers and the farmers had made the authorities genuinely anxious for our safety. We had no trouble from the people, however, throughout the journey, and our only anxiety was the feeding, even of a small party, in many of the remoter districts.

The Miaos gave no sign of the unfriendliness against which we had been so gravely warned by the officials. They are an unusually fine race of men and women, of good physique and with pleasant open faces. They retain their own language and customs, and their tribal ornaments, but their dress differs little from that of the Chinese. They are the most prosperous and the most civilised of the tribesmen whom I have met in China, and although they give constant trouble to the Chinese, and resent their interference and their attempts at administration, it was evident that they were well disposed towards us as foreigners. Their villages are built in commanding positions on the very crests of the hills, and they are picturesque, well built, and defiant, in striking contrast to the hidden villages of the tribesmen further west. A line of forts and block-houses has been built by the Chinese to command the roads and to keep open communications, and they are now endeavouring to secure moral hold over the tribesmen by founding a regiment of them, in which the men have insisted on the appointment of Miao officers.

There is a tendency for the Chinese to intermarry with Miao women, and, as is generally the case in union between the Chinese and a cognate race, the children are particularly fine specimens both physically and mentally. I imagine that Hunan owes much of its prosperity and individuality to the Miao blood, which is evidently the aboriginal stock of the country.

The greater part of Southern and Western Hunan consists of a plateau of about 1,500 feet, broken by mountain peaks of great grandeur and beauty. Forests of pine and fir cover the mountain sides, the passes are from 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, and at this season of the year the country is intersected by countless torrents, bordered by a wealth of flowers, with rhododendrons, azaleas, and many flowering shrubs. For only two days were we free of rain, which fell almost incessantly, making the steep tracks difficult and dangerous. In spite of constant fever, arising no doubt from the continual damp and the exhausting marches, the porters and soldiers were willing and good-tempered, and the Hunanese are a fine sturdy race with whom it is a pleasure to travel. The mountain roads link up a line of scattered villages surrounded by fields of rice, wheat, rape, buckwheat, and hemp. The villages have an architectural beauty which never ceases to astonish one in these remote and thinly-peopled regions. The timbered farm-houses, the graceful bridges, and fine ancestral halls in their setting of golden rape flowers against dark rocks and pines, show a skill in construction and an artistic perception amongst these farmers of Hunan which marks them with an individuality all their own. Farmers by tradition and inheritance, they have given to China a line of scholars, engineers, administrators, and Empire builders of whom they are justly proud. Their fierce resistance to any foreign encroachment on their province and their rights has created an impression of an anti-foreign sentiment among the people. In the course of our tour, however, we were welcomed every evening by the representative men of the villages, and they seemed to me friendly, interested,

and intelligent, with a directness of mind and expression which is unusual among the Chinese.

The evidence of independent travellers tends to show that opium has not been produced near the towns or along the main roads of Hunan for several years past, but official proclamations and the provincial press have admitted the failure of the authorities to clear these outlying mountain villages, where transport is difficult, and a light easily-carried commodity such as opium is the most profitable crop which can be produced. The Hunanese farmer, moreover, is an independent and vigorous personality, and it was evident to us that he would make a definite struggle against official interference unless it was backed by overwhelming force. The campaign against the poppy has been well organised and effective; a line of garrisons has been stretched along the whole of the southern and western borders; groups of five families have been bound together for preventive purposes with a bond of mutual responsibility under heavy penalties; the teachers in the Government schools now existing in every rural community have been charged with opium-intelligence work as part of their official duties; and numbers of deputies have scoured the country offering rewards for every poppy plant produced by informers. In the Paoching district 5 dollars a root was offered last season, and the fact that the reward was never claimed appeared to prove the prefecture free of poppy. In Kwei-yang Hsien the reward had to be reduced to 1 cash a plant owing to the numbers brought in, but even here a careful examination by Mr. King failed to reveal any crops at harvest time this year.

Throughout the southern and western districts also the military operations have been successful in clearing the country, though the campaign has been accompanied by cruelty and corruption. The evidence all pointed to the fact that the poppy had been sown in small patches over an extensive area, but that the total amount under cultivation was inconsiderable. The fact that few fields were lying fallow appeared to me to prove that the uprooted opium crops could not have covered very much ground, and that the harvest would have had very little effect on the general market even in the province itself. Even the steep hillsides were planted with wood-oil trees of from two to four years' growth, showing that the main campaign against the poppy had taken place several seasons ago. In some places, where the campaign of destruction had been so hurried that there had not been time to uproot all the crops, the water had been let into the fields, and the poppy plants were serving as a somewhat extravagant fertiliser for the ensuing rice crops.

As to the use of opium, it was difficult to obtain precise information, for we were accompanied by large escorts, which were inclined to hamper our free intercourse with the people. Many of the local soldiers, however, had taken part in the preventive campaigns, and their personal experiences proved an interesting commentary on the accounts of the officials. A number of smokers, both men and women, have undoubtedly been executed in different parts of the province, but I could obtain no exact information as to the numbers of victims in the western area, and I think that the campaign in that part of the province has been conducted on broad lines rather than against individuals, and that it has been mainly concerned with the destruction of the crops.

The Republican officials are generally young men who have been educated in Japan, and few, if any, of them indulge in opium smoking. The soldiers also appear to be quite free from the habit, and in their case the beneficial results of freedom from the drug are beyond all question. In some of the larger centres, notably in Hung-chiang and Shen-chou-fu, large numbers of the people have the opium complexion, but we were unable to obtain any direct evidence of smoking or of the use of opium pills, and the penetrating smell of the drug, once so common in the inns and on the boats, was entirely absent. Opium pills could not be bought by our party in any of the towns or villages through which we passed, nor could they obtain opium. There is little doubt that considerable numbers of the population still use the drug in one form or another, but the sale is always attended with difficulty and danger, and it is only supplied to those who are well known. The price is so high too, ranging from three dollars an ounce in Hung-chiang and Shen-chou to nine dollars in Changsha, that it is far beyond the means of the masses.

I learned from men who were coming in from the neighbouring provinces that opium can still be freely grown and used immediately across the Kueichow border, and that numbers of Hunan coolies prefer to remain in that province, where the scale of wage is lower than in Hunan, rather than abandon the use of the drug, which is of very real service to those engaged in hard manual labour under trying climatic conditions. The abolition of opium would doubtless benefit China in many ways, but an experience of travelling in many provinces in the interior convinces me that it will

be a very real loss to the over-burdened carrying coolie and the worker in the wet paddy fields. This last journey was certainly one of unusual hardship for our caravan, owing to the bad weather and the difficult roads, but I have never seen so much suffering among the porters, who arrived day after day at the end of their long marches wet and cold and too exhausted to sleep or eat without some simple stimulant. They used the country-liquor as an alternative to opium, but there can be little question that it is more expensive, more deleterious, and less effective as a remedy than the pipe of opium to which they have been accustomed, and which has not prevented the coolie of the interior from pursuing an active life to a ripe and healthy old age.

I visited the town of Hung-chiang, on the Yuan River, which was formerly the great market for Kueichou opium, and which has grown into a busy and prosperous centre on this trade alone, the *li-kin* on native opium amounting to as much as 15,000,000 taels a-year when the trade was at its zenith. The people are now reduced to poverty and the town already bears evidence of decline, which appears to show that the trade has really suffered a fatal blow. A small quantity is still smuggled in by the small roads in the Yuan-chou district and distributed from Hung-chiang with the greatest precaution, but the most liberal estimate places the amount annually introduced at about one-tenth of that originally dealt with.

It will be extremely difficult to eliminate the trade in, and the consumption of, opium from centres such as this, and the slightest relaxation of official measures will probably lead to the recrudescence of a trade in which officials, farmers, merchants, and people have so great a stake.

Throughout the journey we received the greatest courtesy from the officials and gentry, who did their best to ensure our comfort and to afford us protection. Vigorous efforts were made at first to hamper my movements to confine me to the main roads, and to prevent my penetration into the tribal country. I was inclined to attribute this to a fear that poppy might be discovered in the loosely administered mountain country. The result of a careful search, however, appeared to show that official opposition was dictated either by the anxiety of the local officials for our safety or by the natural reluctance of our Chinese colleagues to undergo the hardships of a mountain tour. We walked most of the way, after abandoning our ponies and finding our sedan chairs too exciting, but to the Chinese delegates, unaccustomed as they are to any form of exercise, the exhausting marches and the comfortless nights proved a terrible experience. The fact that they completed the tour in a friendly and helpful spirit was therefore very gratifying.

To sum up the results of the tour, we have conducted a searching examination of the province of Hunan, and we have neither seen any poppy nor obtained any evidence of cultivation. The campaign of destruction has evidently been carried over several years, and although a certain amount was sown this year in the remoter districts, in the mountains and in tribal country, I am of opinion that little, if any, remains, and that the heroic measures of the last few months have been successful. A certain amount of smuggling from the neighbouring provinces still continues, but it is inconsiderable and decreasing. A certain number of people still use the drug, but the high prices and the severe punishments meted out to smokers have had far-reaching results.

Hunan is in a favourable position for the elimination of the drug, in that it is fertile and prosperous, other crops being economically possible in most of the country, though the mountain districts will suffer considerable loss from the campaign. The agricultural and mineral wealth of the province is so marked, however, and the water transport is generally so good, that the province will be better able than many of the other provinces to tide over any loss in connection with the opium trade, should the present policy continue. At the same time, the high prices of the drug now prevailing, and the demand which still exists, will form a great temptation to producers, and the least slackening of the repressive measures may lead to an immediate recrudescence of cultivation.

The student-class in the big towns of Hunan are reported to be really desirous of eliminating the drug, and they have expressed their opinions through the medium of the press. The bulk of the people, however, are frankly interested in it, either as producers, consumers, or tax-collectors, and they constantly expressed the opinion that the drug could never be entirely abolished. A member of the gentry, the most powerful element in the province, remarked one day that the question at issue was surely that of Indian opium, not of opium pure and simple, and I have little doubt that he expressed the general opinion of the people of Hunan. Whatever may be their motive, however, there is definite evidence for the moment of a sincere desire on the part of the Government to free the province from the cultivation of the poppy and, after an experience

of the opium question in several other provinces, I am able to report that Hunan has dealt with the problem with unexpected thoroughness and success.

ARCHIBALD ROSE.

May 25, 1913.

Enclosure 3 in No. 2.

Report on Journey in Hunan (Eastern Section).

FROM first to last I have seen no trace of poppy cultivation. A careful search and exhaustive enquiries have alike failed to disclose the existence of any crop this season.

My investigation began at Ch'i-yang Hsien, which was reached from Changsha via Pao-ching Fu, and ended at Hsiang-Yin Hsien, 40 miles due north of Changsha. The journey falls into five distinctive divisions, which are as follows:—

1. Ch'i-yang Hsien to Liang T'ien, 415 *li* (138½ miles).
2. Liang T'ien to Kwei-yang Hsien, 165 *li* (55 miles).
3. Kwei-yang Hsien to Lung T'ang, 205 *li* (68½ miles).
4. Lung T'ang to P'ing-chiang Hsien, 785 *li* (261¾ miles).
5. P'ing-chiang Hsien to Hsiang-Yin Hsien, 185 *li* (61¾ miles).

The first division comprises lands which are favourable to poppy growing, and which have produced poppy in former years to a considerable extent.

The second is a fair example of those remote and outlying districts in which the poppy is generally supposed to be still in evidence. The path I travelled was an unfrequented one—well away from the beaten track.

In the third stage my road ran parallel to the Kiangsi border at a distance of 10 miles from it. The lands passed through were mountainous border lands with cultivated valleys.

The fourth division comprises border districts, but of more open and less mountainous aspect.

The fifth stage surveys the country from the Kiangsi border district of P'ing-chiang Hsien, eastwards to a point 40 miles due north of Changsha.

Poppy Cultivation.

Poppy was successfully grown in the season 1911-12 in some of the districts through which I have passed; in others the officials intervened, the crop was torn up, and the grower punished. At P'ing-chiang Hsien for instance, in April 1912 a grower was fined 1,000 tiao (about 720 dollars) and his crop destroyed.

During the summer of 1912 proclamations were issued and notables sent round to impress on the local officials, elders, and landowners of the province that no poppy would be tolerated in the coming season, and that the provincial authorities would shrink from no extremity of action to ensure the final freedom of the province from opium.

Since November last (the sowing season) all the districts through which I have passed have been visited from time to time by search parties of soldiers, with orders to root up any poppy found, to arrest the growers, and to shoot down all opposition. A landowner in the Chien-chou district was shot in January 1913 under such circumstances, though I understand that he was the victim of a false accusation.

Secrecy of cultivation is scarcely possible, conditions being such as they are in country districts in China; and discovery was rendered doubly sure by offer of rewards to informers, and by the posting up of boxes for the receipt of anonymous denunciations.

The Tzu Chih Chu (local government councils) and the Tuan Tsung (militia captains) have been made collectively and individually responsible for their districts. And finally, notables have been sent out periodically by the General Opium Suppression Bureau. The activity of this bureau has rendered impossible any apathy on the part of the district officials; and this result has been assisted by the fact that since the revolution local authority is vested no longer in one man, but is divided between three officials respectively: the magistrate, the judicial officer, and the commandant of the local troops.

Poppy cultivation in this province is only possible, in my opinion, where the local

landowners are in a position to defy their officials; in none of the districts visited by me does such a state of affairs exist. All these districts are well supplied with troops of the regular army, and are within easy reach of the provincial capital.

I saw no trace of poppy, and it is my opinion that no crop has been successfully grown this year in any of these districts.

Opium Smoking.

The campaign against opium smoking has been carried out with great vigour. Since the summer of 1912 the local government councils in the villages and market towns, and the district officials in the district cities, have made house-to-house investigations, have destroyed any stocks of opium or smoking implements found, and have dealt with the offending parties. The search is allowed on all sides to have been a thorough one; rewards have been offered to informers and boxes for anonymous denunciations have been placed before all public buildings; people with opium faces have been the mark of special attention.

Smokers in the villages have, in the first instance, been placed under observation; those who have undergone this period of surveillance to the satisfaction of the local government council have been passed as reformed characters; the others have been sent into the district cities and there handed over to the magistrate.

In all opium cases the magistrate acts under the superintendence of the local representative of the General Opium Suppression Bureau. (This bureau went out of existence during the course of the enquiry under report; since then the local officials deal with opium matters in the ordinary course of official routine.)

Offenders found in the cities or sent in from the villages were placed in reformatories, fined, imprisoned, or shot, according as the magistrate and the opium bureau official decides. Any stocks or implements found were destroyed in public. It has been said that while the poor have been proceeded against with all severity, the rich have been left unmolested. There appears to me to be no foundation for this statement, beyond the fact that men of substance have probably received less summary, though no less determined, treatment than the poorer offenders. In the districts visited by me, twelve capital sentences have been carried out, as follows:—Three at Ch'ang-ning Hsien, one at Kwei-yang Chou, one at Ch'en Chou, one at Li T'ien Chen, four at Kwei-yang Hsien, one at Ling Hsien, one at P'ing-chiang Hsien.

I am of opinion that offenders, apart from those who offered forcible resistance, were not shot out of hand. They seem to have been given a chance to reform. Poor culprits were, in the first instance, placed in reformatories and the well-to-do fined; a relapse meant imprisonment or a heavier fine; and, finally, the incorrigible were shot.

These measures have to all appearance resulted in the practical eradication of the opium habit in the districts through which I have passed. Opium is no longer procurable, and not a few cases are reported of former habitual smokers having died in consequence of their being thus deprived of the drug.

There no longer exists any import or export of opium. Smuggling would appear to have been successfully put down. All trade in the commodity is paralysed.

LOUIS KING.

Changsha, May 14, 1913.

Enclosure 4 in No. 2.

Memorandum on Mr. J. L. Smith's Journey of Opium Investigation in the Province of Shantung.

MR. SMITH, accompanied by delegates of the Central and Provincial Governments, has completed a journey of twenty-eight days in Shantung, where he has covered about 580 miles in the districts south of the Yellow River, including two areas in the south-west of the province where poppy was reported to have been sown in considerable quantities during the present season.

He estimates that, prior to the anti-opium campaign, 50 per cent. of the land under cultivation in the prefecture of Tsao-chou was devoted to poppy. There has been a marked decrease in production during the last few years, but a certain amount was sown during the autumn of 1912, and evidence of its recent destruction was received from the villagers and from independent witnesses both native and foreign. During

February and March forty-eight special deputies were sent through the district by the Governor, and they uprooted all crops which were growing in the open fields whilst a certain quantity had failed to come up at all in consequence of the spring droughts. The last crops which remained were within the walled enclosures of the big farm-houses, and there was doubtless a hope of retaining these plots for the purpose of obtaining seed for next year. The majority even of these carefully screened crops, however, were destroyed on the approach of the investigating party. As a result no poppy was seen in the south-western area.

In the districts around Tai-an-fu similar conditions were found. Here the poppy had been sown, though in smaller quantities than in the south-west. In several instances there was evidence that seed-beds in the walled gardens had been retained until the very last moment, and in one instance Mr. Smith actually watched the uprooting of a garden plot of which information had reached him. It was impossible to conduct a searching enquiry into every case of secret cultivation in a country which is dotted with fortified farms, but it was clear that officials and farmers alike were anxious that no crops should be discovered by the party in the area for which they were responsible. It would appear indeed that for all practical purposes the country is now cleared of cultivation.

Movements of Native Opium.

The transport of opium in the province is prohibited, and smuggling can only be conducted with great risk. It is probable that stocks still remain in the hands of dealers, but all trade in the drug is conducted with great secrecy and under severe penalties, and no direct evidence of opium traffic was anywhere available.

The import of the native drug is attended with similar difficulties. Police supervision is strict, especially on the railway, and every effort has been made to suppress smuggling. The isolated villages on the borders of the province are so largely removed from official control that it is impossible to obtain definite or reliable information as to conditions there. In the opinion of the Chinese with whom Mr. Smith was able to get into touch, however, the opium which changes hands even in these districts is now inconsiderable in amount.

Smoking.

The consumption of opium in the districts visited shows a marked decline. The missionaries all estimate that the decrease has been well above 50 per cent., whilst in Tsao-hsien one of them placed it as high as 90 per cent. There are no public opium dens and few secret ones, present prices are beyond the means of the people, and rich smokers have their own stocks, which are consumed in secret and of which no authentic information is available. Smoking was reported to have been openly practised in the magistrate's yamên at Tsao-hsien during the present spring, but it is now stopped, and neither Mr. Smith nor his servants saw any evidence of smoking, or were able to purchase opium, though it is clear that a certain amount is still consumed. The officials themselves admit the existence of a few smokers, mainly among the old and the sick. Prices range from 3 to 6 dollars an ounce, and the fact that quotations were procurable at almost every centre appears to indicate that it can still be purchased by those who are known to the dealers. There are few if any cases in which opium eating has replaced the smoking of the drug.

The party travelled by cart, wheelbarrow, or chair, according to the nature of the country. Mr. Smith usually rode, detaching himself from the escort and the Chinese deputies, and following small tracks whenever possible, in order to keep in closer touch with the people. A British missionary who had been on a recent journey had seen poppy crops growing in the open fields during his outward journey, but they had all vanished on his return a few weeks later; another had seen no opium at all. Both British and foreign missionaries corroborated the native evidence that crops had been planted in many districts this season, but that they had been destroyed, often after the party had already started on the tour of inspection and in many cases only a few days before their arrival. The officials have been energetic in carrying out the work of destruction, and their work has been made lighter by the drought. The yamên underlings, who have constantly accepted bribes from the opium farmers and who connived at the retention of the seed plants until the last moment, insisted on the uprooting of every plant when once the party was known to have started.

As a result of his tour Mr. Smith is of opinion that smoking has considerably

decreased in the areas visited, and that traffic in the drug is restricted and dangerous, whilst he has been unable to find any evidence of crops which can be harvested this year.

British Consulate, Chinan Fu, May 28, 1913.

Enclosure 5 in No. 2.

Report on Journey in Shantung (Shih P'ing and I Chow Districts).

IN accordance with instructions, I left Tien-tsin on Tuesday the 22nd April, arriving in Tsinan on the same day. It was there arranged that I should undertake the inspection of the Shih P'ing and I Chow districts. The Peking delegates called at noon on the 24th April, and I left on the following morning to visit the Shih P'ing district to the west of Tsinan.

Cultivation.

Crossing the Huang Ho at Ch'í Ho and keeping to the north of the main road, I reached Shih P'ing on the evening of the second day, and on the return journey passed through San Shih Li P'u and, after recrossing the river at Tung Chia Ssu, Ch'ang Ch'ing. On the morning of the 26th April I made what proved to be the only find of poppies during the trip. Just outside the village of Chi Chia Chuang in Ch'ang Ch'ing Hsien, beside a small river called the Liu Shui Ho, I came across a man in the act of destroying a patch of poppy seedlings which were barely an inch in height. He said that he was hoeing them up as a result of orders received from the ti pao on the previous day. The patch was approximately 18 yards by 28 yards; it was hidden from view by the high bank of the river on one side and by a roughly-constructed earth mound on the other. In a garden in the same neighbourhood a few small plants were also found, but I was satisfied with the explanation given—that these seedlings had escaped by chance the destruction of the crop. The deputies had failed to remain with me on the morning in question, although I had pointed out to them that they should do so. From this time on, however, they accompanied me everywhere.

On returning from Shih P'ing, I spent one day in Tsinan and left on the 1st May to inspect the I Chow district, reaching Yi Hsien by rail the same evening. I spent three days along the Kiangsu border, between Yi Hsien and T'an Ch'êng, but made no find. The south of Shantung is overrun with troops who have been charged with the task of destroying the poppy as well as that of guarding against raids by the Chiangsu brigands, and I am told by missionaries in Yi Hsien and also heard from other sources that the officials had been very thorough in the work of suppression, and that there was no poppy growing in the district. I heard a different story at T'an Ch'êng, where a missionary told me that the poppy was being cultivated extensively at Hung Hua P'u, a lawless district infested by brigands, which, he said, the officials and soldiers did not dare to visit. There seems to be a perpetual state of war around T'an Ch'êng, between the soldiers and the brigands, and the heads of nine of the latter were on the city gate on my arrival. My servants asked if they might be excused from going to Hung Hua P'u, and the deputies were obviously unwilling to go; the magistrate, however, readily provided an escort to accompany me thither, but, although I visited every village belonging to Shantung in the neighbourhood, there was no poppy to be found. The T'an Ch'êng missionary was wrong, too, in saying that the authority of the officials did not extend to Hung Hua P'u.

At I Chow and Chuchow the missionaries knew of no poppy still growing; they told me that it had been sown on a very large scale everywhere, but subsequently uprooted. The people had expected that the hands of the Government would be too full with other matters to permit of a campaign against opium. From Chuchow I went on to Ishui where the report of the success of the repressive measures was less convincing than it had been anywhere, and the magistrate told me it would not be easy to guarantee his district as free from cultivation. A German missionary told me that he had recently seen the poppy growing in walled gardens in Northern Ishui, when passing on horseback; if he had been on foot, he would have seen nothing. But he did not belong to the Ishui district and could give me no idea as to places, directions or distances. There were not many of these walled gardens, they belonged to wealthy people only, and it would only be by chance that, even though keeping off the roads, one would make a find of this sort. It was common report in Ishui that poppy was being grown in the district, and that its existence was known to the officials; and the

provincial deputy told me later that he had written to the tutu asking for the dismissal of the magistrate. In the neighbourhood of Ishui I met several soldiers who told my servants that immediately after our arrival at Chuchow, word was sent to Ishui repeating the order for the destruction, before we could reach the district, of any poppy still remaining. They said they had been sent out in consequence, and were returning to Ishui after the completion of their task. I could not ascertain their number, but a great number of these soldiers had been sent out; and the fact that they were sent at such short notice would seem to confirm the report that the officials knew of such poppy as was growing at that time. It was hardly surprising that I was able to find nothing. In Mengyin I heard that very little poppy had been grown ever since the original prohibition of cultivation, as the extortions of the yamên runners had taken away all profit from the growth of the crop; the missionaries were convinced that none had escaped destruction this year. On leaving Mengyin I crossed the Meng Shan and spent some days travelling within the square, having Mengyin, Feih sien, Tenghsien, and Yenchow, as the four corners, reaching the last named on the 21st May. From Yenchow I travelled to Tsinan by rail, and continued my journey thence to Tien-tsin on the 24th May. No find of any sort was made in the I Chow district.

In many places, particularly in the Shih P'ing district, the drought had been so severe that the poppy would probably not have survived even if it had escaped destruction at the hands, or by the order, of the officials. The bulk of the crop had been uprooted early in the spring, but an officer who accompanied me for about a week said that the province could not have been described as "clean" till after the arrival of the deputy in Tsinan. Telegrams were sent in all directions, repeating the order for the suppression of opium cultivation, and telling of the coming of deputies and even of the dismissal of the Ch'ang Ch'ing magistrate. Proclamations were issued to the same effect, and detailed the punishments for any breach of the regulations.

On several occasions I heard, from my servants and from the three detectives whom I employed, that small patches of poppy had been destroyed one or two days before my arrival; the most reliable of these reports concerned places to the east of Shih Tzu Lu in Chuchow, the Ishui district, and San Kuan Miao in Feih sien; but there were several others, so that there was reason to believe that in some places the crop was only destroyed when the near approach of my party made the presence of poppies too dangerous for the owners. I obtained information that the destruction of poppy at this late hour was due to warnings sent ahead by the provincial deputy. The deputy appointed by the Ministry of the Interior was also of this opinion, and even volunteered the statement that he thought we should have found poppy in several places but for this fact. It may or may not have been true; it would have been impossible to prevent him from sending word if he wished. All that I could do was to keep my projected movements secret, and on one occasion, when he wrote a letter to a military post against my wishes, I insisted on his having the messenger brought back and the letter destroyed.

Import of Native Opium.

I was unable to obtain any proof of the import of native opium. It was regarded as a recognised fact in the south of Shantung that opium was smuggled across the Kiangsu frontier—according to some of my informants, in very large quantities. But the fact that brigands abound over the Kiangsu border has given that province a bad name, and the inhabitants are thought capable of all nefarious practices, including the cultivation and smuggling of opium; so the reports were probably exaggerated. It was also said that much of the opium smuggled into Shantung passed through Kiangsu by way of Ching'ou, where I was told that no steps of any sort were taken to control the trade. It was, perhaps, significant that the T'an Ch'êng magistrate told me that he could get no replies either to telegrams or despatches inviting the co-operation of the Kiangsu authorities in matters relating to brigands or opium.

Smoking.

Opium smoking is, according to all accounts, not noticeably less prevalent than it was a year ago. There are opium shops in every market town of any importance, and natives have no difficulty in buying opium. The price of the drug was high in every part of the province that I visited; but the figures that I tried to collect varied so much as to be useless. There was no evidence of opium smoking at any of the inns at which I stayed; but this is not surprising as, with Chinese deputies in the party, the nature of the mission could not be kept secret. From what I heard it would seem that opium

smoking was least prevalent in Mengyin, where I heard that the regulations requiring smokers to report at the yamên and reduce the amount smoked were enforced and most prevalent in Chuchow, where there were said to be over twenty opium shops, nearly all of which were known to the officials. Four or five were closed just before my arrival and the proprietors punished; but this was regarded on all sides as a precautionary display of zeal on the part of the magistrate.

Heavy punishments had been awarded to offenders, but there were so many wild rumours afloat that information on the subject could only be accepted with caution. The headman of a village in the Ch'ang Ch'ing district was beaten on the 23rd April for having permitted the cultivation of the poppy in his village. There was a case of confiscation of land at Yi Hsien. While at Chuchow a man was said to have been executed for persisting in growing the poppy after one warning. In an access of zeal immediately preceding our arrival, the magistrate at I Chow had arrested several wealthy and prominent residents for opium smoking, and had sentenced them to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to sixteen years; some had been marched through the streets handcuffed. A missionary in Ishui had heard of opium smokers being shot, but did not know of such a case personally. And there were stories of similar punishments at almost every place visited.

The official repressive measures have been directed mainly against the cultivation of opium, and, judging by the state of those parts of the province which I visited, seem to have been most successful in this respect for the current year. There is now probably no poppy, or next to none, growing in Shantung, although it was sown very extensively last autumn, and reports as to the zeal of the officials in the suppression of poppy cultivation are confirmed on all sides. The measures taken by the officials against opium smoking vary according to the inclinations of each, and there was no general and organised campaign. In Chuchow it was said that opium shops escaped interference by payment of a sufficiently large contribution to the magistrate, and this was doubtless the case at other places, where the officials could not have remained in ignorance of their existence.

N. FITZMAURICE.

Tien-tsin, May 29, 1913.

Enclosure 6 in No. 2.

Memorandum communicated to Wai-chiao Pu by Sir J. Jordan.

HIS Majesty's Minister has the honour to invite the attention of the Wai-chiao Pu to his memorandum of the 1st February, in which he expressed his willingness to consent to the examination of the provinces of Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung on the lines laid down in article 4 of the Opium Agreement of 1911, with a view to the verification of the claims put forward by the Governors of those provinces that the cultivation of the poppy had now been effectively suppressed in the districts under their control.

In a memorandum dated the 13th February the Wai-chiao Pu promised their co-operation to this end, and British consular officers, accompanied by Chinese representatives of the Metropolitan and Provincial Governments, have now completed extensive tours of the provinces in question.

As a result of their investigations, Sir John Jordan now agrees that Indian opium shall not be conveyed into the three provinces of Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung, in accordance with the terms of article 3 of the Agreement of 1911.

Sir John Jordan would propose that this arrangement should take effect from the 15th June, 1913.

Peking, May 27, 1913.

Enclosure 7 in No. 2.

Memorandum communicated to Sir J. Jordan by Wai-chiao Pu.

(Translation.)

WITH reference to the joint investigation of opium cultivation in Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung provinces, the Ministry has received successively the reports of its own deputy and of the deputy of the Ministry of the Interior, to the effect that cultivation has entirely ceased in those provinces. Further telegraphic requests have been

received from the tutus of the three provinces to fix a date for the prohibition of the import of Indian opium. The Ministry was in the act of considering these documents when his Excellency's memorandum to the following effect was received :—

“The British and Chinese delegates have now completed extensive tours in the provinces in question. As a result of their investigations Sir John Jordan now agrees that Indian opium shall not be conveyed into the three provinces of Anhui, Hunan, and Shantung, in accordance with the terms of article 3 of the Agreement of 1911. Sir John Jordan would propose that this arrangement should take effect from the 15th June, 1913.”

On reading this memorandum the gratitude of the Ministry is profound. Telegrams are being sent to the tutus of the three provinces to take action in the sense indicated, and a letter is being written to the Revenue Council asking that it may direct the Inspector-General to inform the Commissioners of Customs in the provinces concerned. The Ministry now has the honour to send the above reply to his Excellency.

(Seal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.)

Peking, May 30, 1913.

Reports from His Majesty's Minister at Peking
respecting the Opium Question in China.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command
of His Majesty. July 1913.*

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